7: McKern A-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9



The southern and most ancient part of Lapaha was largely monopolized by the Tui Tonga. The northern part, Maolunga, was the seat of government of the Tui Haatakalaua. Lapaha was faced on the northwest by the lagoon and surrounded on all other sides by a fortification consisting of a ditch and an earth wall surmounted by a stockade. The ditch is now largely filled in, but in places, where apparently it has not been disturbed, it is 10 feet deep and 20 feet wide at the top. The earth removed in digging the ditch forms a steeply walled bank bordering the village side of the ditch. The stockade fence was constructed of vertically erect posts placed together without interval and held together by means of poles placed horizontally and lashed with strips of fau bark. There were three, straight, level entrances to the fortified area, the names of which are not remembered. According to one informant, the Tui Tonga Takalaua either built or rebuilt these fortifications.

Entering ancient Lapaha through the southwestern gateway, the first structure encountered was the Olotele, a rectangular area enclosed by a reed fence taller than a man's head and entered by a gateway, in the center of which stood a post of volcanic rock, 3 feet high and 1 foot thick, called Tokomatupa, said to have been a gift to one of the Tongan rulers from Vuna, a chieftain of Houma. This area enclosed the house of the Tui Tonga, probably a dwelling of large size built on an earth mound. Surrounding the King's house (also called Olotele) were the smaller out-buildings occupied by the King's household servants.

All that now remains at the site of the Tui Tonga's house is a low oval mound of earth, 50 feet in length, the house-mound of the royal dwelling. The stone Tokomatupa, now generally known by the name of Levulevukefu, has been recently moved from its former position and now stands under a nearby tree. One house post from the old royal residence has been built into the house of Joeli Pangia, the living, ranking representative of the Tui Tonga family. It is a smoothly surfaced house post of *ngatae* wood (*Erythrina corallodendron*).

Opposite the entrance to Olotele and about 35 yards distant, stood the house of Kautai, the priest who ministered to the king's family god, Taufaitahi. This house is said to have had a name, which is now forgotten. The large oval mound, 40 feet in length, that now marks its site is called Paepaeokautai (*paepae*, house-mound; *o*, of; Kautai).

North of these two houses and immediately bordering them, was the great *malae* of the Tui Tonga—a flat, grassy, rectangular area where the king held ceremonies and entertainments. The *malae* was about 100 yards long and surrounded by large *ovava* trees. A very large tree of this species, under which the Tui Tonga sat during any function, was named Manaui.

This area no longer exists as such. The main road through Mua passes

7: McKern A-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 0U9 Tonga 0U9



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superior surface. All of these langis, 4 inside and 17 outside of the fortified area, are considered as being in Lapaha (pp. 36-61).

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Maolunga includes the dwelling house, outbuildings and burial place of the Tui Haatakalaua family, said to have been first built and occupied by Moungamotua, the first Tui Haatakalaua, and the younger brother of Tui Tonga Kauulufonuafekai.

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The dwelling house called Fonuamotu was a large thatched building of the better class standing upon a low, earthen *paepae* about 50 yards from the present shore line.

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Southwest of this house stood a mound called Nukukausiala which formed the *paepae* of the house called Falesinifu (House-of-concubines) where the common wives of the chieftain dwelt. As it appears today this mound is essentially a rectangular platform of earth, 110 feet long, 75 to 91 feet wide, 3 feet high on its land side, and 8 feet above the bottom of the lagoon. More than half of the mound stands out from the shore upon subaqueous foundations. Its sides are faced with loosely piled coral stones, many of large size. Some of the slabs are dressed and others show a rude smoothing. The eastern wall of the mound is so sloping as to permit walking up the incline. The inclination of the other three walls is about 70°.

Immediately south of Nukukausiala is a somewhat similar platform, 35 feet wide. On the lagoon side where the structure just overlaps the low-tide mark, its top is 3.5 feet above the lagoon bottom; on the land side the height is 2.3 feet. The vertical retaining walls are built partly of rough stones and partly of dressed slabs. In the seaward wall, close to the northwestern corner of the platform, is a large, flat, circular stone, 1 foot thick and 10 feet in diameter, a natural coral growth known as brain-coral or mushroom-coral. The stone stands on edge 6.5 feet above the top of the platform. It is called Filimoimaka, the name of the chieftain who brought it from near Kolonga and presented it as a gift to the Tui Haatakalaua. Its purpose and use seem to have been purely ornamental. On this mound stood the house which served as the cohabital house of the chieftain and his common wives. No general name for this type of house, or specific name for this particular house, could be found.

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From the western end of Nukukausiala and extending out into the lagoon is an irregular pile of large, rough, coralline rocks about 25 feet in width and 500 to 600 feet in length, called Mounu. The formation is undoubtedly artificial. A common story accounts for this rocky isle as built up from the discarded oven-stones of the great sailing vessel *Lomipeau*, the boat that is reputed to have brought stone slabs from Wallis Island as material for one of the large langis. Another account explains this pile of stones as the beginning of a causeway that the Tui Tonga Pau started to build across the lagoon

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7: McKern A-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9



172 from Mua to the Tukutonga point east of Nukualofa (p. 18). The first
173 account needs no comment; the second is highly improbable.
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172 About 50 feet southeast of Nukukausiala is a circular, round topped sand
764 mound, 40 feet in base diameter and 3 feet high. It is the burial mound
[368] (*faitoka*) where the common wives of the Tui Haatakalaua were buried.
[644]

A few yards northeast of this *faitoka* is the low, oval, earthen mound
172 where the house called Falekilikili formerly stood. This house served as a
344 place where the small, black, volcanic pebbles called *kilikili*, used in decorating
[368] grave mounds, were sorted and oiled previous to use. Ordinarily this house
[764] was tapu to every one. Only after a death in the Tui Haatakalaua family
[644] were the old women from among the chieftain's retainers permitted to enter
this house and perform the duties associated with it. Close to the north side
172 of Falekilikili was a shallow, funnel-shaped well where the old women
312 washed their hands after oiling the *kilikili* stones.

The inlet from the lagoon is now nothing more than a small mangrove
172 swamp, but anciently it is said to have contained sufficient water to permit
133 large, double-hulled sailing vessels to enter and anchor. Traces of stone
172 work about the edges of this swamp suggest that the channel was at least
503 partly artificial. The stones seen are dressed coral slabs, generally showing
only their tops above ground at the swamp edge.

172 In the center of the inlet, opposite the *faitoka*, there is a small island
[133] called Vakaniua. It was at this island that the sailing vessel of the Tui
[504] Haatakalaua was moored when at the home port. The island derived its
name from the boat, the name being progressively handed down from one
[552] boat to its successor. The original boat derived its name from having carried
the chieftain Fotofili to the island of Niuafoou, north of the Vavau group.

About 50 yards east of the house Fonuamotu stood the house called Tuku-
172 motafa, the dwelling of Lauaki, ranking matapule (non-chiefly official) in the
342 suite of the Tui Haatakalaua. It is now marked by an earthen *paepae* of the
644 usual shape with its major axis about 35 feet long.
[362]

About half way between the house of the chieftain and that of his ranking
172 matapule was the chieftain's bathing place, called Malama. It is a funnel-
312 shaped, circular basin about 20 feet in diameter, said originally to have been
[368] one "fathom" deep but now not more than 2 feet deep and quite dry. It is
not known whether the bath was naturally supplied with water, which would
necessarily be brackish, or was filled with rain water from the roofs of the
houses, said to have been the source of supply of many of these bathing
places.

172 The cemetery of the Tui Haatakalaua lay inside the ancient shore line.
764 It now consists of four stone-walled burial platforms, collectively called
[368] Loamanu, a name derived from the largest of the burial structures. (See p. 58.)

7: McKern A-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9



The stone wall which partly surrounds Loamanu measures 235 feet along the eastern side and 181 feet along the northern. The wall, now in ruin, is 5 to 6 feet wide at the base and 4 to 6 feet high; originally all the wall was probably 6 feet high. This wall is composed of rough, medium-sized pieces of coral reef limestone, piled carefully with the flattest sides outward and parallel with the slope of the wall surface, about 75°. This surface, where it remains intact, is moderately smooth and uniform. At a distance of 35 feet from the western end of the wall two upright, squared pieces of coral limestone, 1.5 feet wide, 0.8 foot thick, with heights of 5 and 6 feet, respectively, stand in the wall, separated by an open space 2.5 feet wide. These rudely dressed posts appear to mark a narrow entrance. No account could be obtained regarding this wall. It appears to be a partially complete, or partially destroyed fence enclosing the cemetery. 172 349 [361]

Just outside the western limits of Loamanu, near the shore of the lagoon inlet, now represented by a *paepae* 35 feet long, 20 feet wide, and 1 foot thick, stood the house called Milo. There is some doubt about the intended purpose of this place. According to one report, Milo was the residence of one of the important matapules of the Tui Haatakalaua. The name and duties of this officer were not explained although one informant rather doubtfully thought that he took charge of the burial rites of deceased members of the chieftain's family. Another unsubstantiated report describes the place as the priest-house of the chieftain, but several informants insisted that the Tui Haatakalaua had no god other than the family god and priest of the Tui Tonga. 172 342 [362] 172 342 644

East of Loamanu stood a house said to have been the dwelling place of Afu Haalaufuli, a matapule of the Tui Haatakalaua and the caretaker of the cemetery Loamanu. A report, describing this as a god-house for one of the Tui Tonga's gods, was emphatically denied by Joeli Pangia and his oldest matapule. The house-mound is now obliterated. [362]

Tatakamotonga, the home of the Tui Kanokupolu dynasty after its rise to political power, faces the lagoon and is surrounded on two sides by a trench and moat—an extension of the older fortifications. [362] [712]

The house of the king, or ranking member of the family, called, generally, *falehau* (*fale*, house; *hau*, a king of the Tui Kanokupolu dynasty), and specifically Langakali, originally stood in a fenced enclosure, of undetermined dimensions, which is said to have been rectangularly oblong in shape with a major axis extending northwest and southeast. This fence was called Lulukaho. The house-mound which remains is 40 feet long, 25 feet wide, and 1 foot high. 172 351 644 [342]

The priest's house, called Avaui, stood about 30 yards southwest from the king's house. All that remains of the structure is a house-mound about 35 172 346 [368]

7: McKern A-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 0U9 Tonga 0U9



172 346 feet in length by 20 feet in maximum width. The god of that place was Taliaitupou, or Kaliaitupou.

172 342 644 [362] About 50 yards southwest from this god-house once stood the structure called Matangipuomai, the *falefakautangata*, or sleeping house of the oldest son of the king, while unmarried, and of the selected group of young men comprising his princely suite. As the site is now occupied by a wooden dwelling of European type, nothing could be determined regarding the size or orientation of the original house.

The site of the *falefakaufefine*, the sleeping house of the oldest, unmarried daughter of the king and of her young maiden attendants, could not be located nor its name ascertained. It is thought to have stood north of the king's house.

The *falehau*, the guest house of the king, was the largest house in Mua, reputed to have been equipped with eight large houseposts. Nothing remains but the mound, of which the major axis, extending northwest and southeast, is 80 feet in length; the maximum width is 50 feet. Its specific name is said to have been Tatakamotonga. According to some reports, it occupied the center of a grassy area, a *malae*.

172 361 644 Outside the walls of Mua, east of the district called Tatakamotonga, there was a large area called Ahau (literally, of king), which seems to have been an outside addition to the lands of the reigning Tui Kanokupolu. The only place of chiefly importance located here, however, in so far as could be 172 determined, was Kikiloi, a god-house of the Tui Tonga where the priest 346 Kautai is said to have officiated for the god Taufaitaha. Cultivation has changed the house-mound to such an extent that it was impossible to determine its size and orientation.

172 133 361 With reference to the age of Lapaha, the feature shown on the map as the former shore line is of special interest. A survey of this old shore terrace leaves no possible doubt that it once constituted the margin of the lagoon. Its chief archaeological importance lies in the fact that the ends of the moat surrounding three sides of Lapaha, terminate abruptly at this line. This seems to indicate that this was the true shore line at the time the fortification was built. The people of the district say that the strip of low- 172 lands between the former and present shore lines was artificially built by one 173 of the ancient Tui Tonga. The fabulous ship *Lomipeau* is said to be buried 361 somewhere under this fill. The undertaking of reclaiming land on such a scale, without any apparent need for it, is too large to seem probable.

Dates depending on genealogies are bound to be inaccurate, but must serve where no other convincing data are obtainable. Allowing 30 years to a generation, Lapaha became the seat of the Tui Tonga about the last of the eleventh or beginning of the twelfth century. The fortifications around

21: Simkin U-5 (no date) 1945 OU9 Tonga OU9



next most important cause of death, followed by pneumonia and typhoid. Venereal disease is far from being a health problem. The most disturbing feature of Tonga's health is the high infant mortality rate of 8.7 per cent, even although it is a bit lower than the Maori rate. Unhygienic confinements, and a sudden transition from breast feeding to an insufficiently modified variant of the adult diet seem to be the main causes of infant deaths.

The traditional Tongan diet had developed a strong people, healthy enough in their own environment, but lacking resistance to European diseases, and more particularly to tuberculosis and epidemic diseases like measles and influenza. The current diet does not depart much from former standards, but where it does the change is not for the better. Tongans are too fond of white flour and tinned meat, which only accentuate the deficiencies of their diet in regard to protective food elements. A lack of iron lowers resistance to disease as well as predisposing the people to anaemia and yaws. Vitamins are deficient, especially A and C, so that scurvy, hookworm and pyorrhœa are far too prevalent.

Milk and fresh meat would do much to remedy these deficiencies but we have seen that livestock are both scarce and poor. Here is another and a powerful argument for the development of animal husbandry, but more than this would be needed to remedy the situation. Tongans have a marked prejudice against drinking milk, and while they have no such prejudice against meat, they invariably overcook it to make it tender enough to eat without forks and knives. There would have to be intensive education in dietetics and cooking, as well as a flourishing livestock industry, before the Tongans made proper use of meat and milk.

## Housing

Housing, unfortunately, is by no means satisfactory, despite the simplicity and cheapness of building a home in Tonga. About one-third of the houses are neat wooden cottages with glass windows and iron roofs, built at a cost of about £80 in the palmy days of high copra prices. The depressed condition of the copra market has not only brought this type of building to a standstill but has prevented most Tongans from keeping their cottages in proper repair. Even so they are markedly superior, at least from the standpoint of health, to the usual *fale*. This type of dwelling is cheap—at the most £10 to

21: Simkin U-5 (no date) 1945 OU9 Tonga OU9



362 [435] £15—having a thatched roof, reed walls, and an earthen floor. Their construction ensures dirt, dust and damp. Health would certainly improve, along with comfort, if they were required to have wooden floors and more satisfactory roofing.

743 Tonga has long had a system of free medical benefits. These are provided by the Medical Department which has a hospital of fifty beds at Nukualofa, one of twelve beds at Ha'apai, and one of twenty beds at Vavau, all of them equipped with operating theatres. In addition there are dispensaries in both the Nuias and also in Eua. A European doctor is head of the Department, and a European matron runs the Nukualofa hospital, but the rest of the staff is entirely Tongan, comprising thirteen medical practitioners, ten nurses, four dressers, and two dispensers. Their work comes up to a high standard, and they are more suitable for dealing with their own people than Europeans are. There is a high turnover of nurses through marriage, but not a wastage, since ex-nurses play a very valuable role in their villages as voluntary medical workers and educators. Such education is needed because the Tongans are not only inclined to be careless about their ailments but also to be suspicious of western medicine.

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## Tonga's Attainments and Prospects

642 This sketch of modern Tonga describes how a small oceanic peasantry has made a way of life which is suitable to the dignity of free men, in harmony with the requirements of economic justice and full of promise for the future. The Tongans are unique and significant in being the only independent people of the Pacific; subject, it is true, to the control of the British Colonial Office in foreign affairs and to its supervision over public finance, but in all other respects free from the domination of a master race and secure in the possession of their national heritage. Continuity has been preserved with traditional institutions, and modern impacts have liberalised rather than destroyed them. This liberalisation is far from finished and may well lead to the development of a mature Polynesian democracy.

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434 Tonga provides its people with a modest, but adequate and secure income; modest because its cash value probably does not exceed £50 a year, adequate because it provides them with enough food, clothing and housing to keep them well and happy, and secure because it is largely independent of economic fluctuations. The Kingdom is far

49: Rogers A-4,5 (no date) 1969 OU9 Tonga OU9



3% (possibly 3.46% in 1966). With one half of the population under sixteen years of age and with 33.99% of both sexes in the reproductive age-group (15–44), there is every possibility that present rates of increase will be maintained if not exceeded in the next intercensal period. On this evidence the total population would be well over 100,000 by 1976, and would double between 1966 and 1986.

The overall density of population on inhabited islands in 1956 was almost 277 persons per square mile or 2.31 acres per person. By 1966 the comparable figure was 376.6 persons per square mile or 1.69 acres per person, an increase in overall density per square mile of nearly 100 persons.[4]

The largest increases took place on the principal island Tongatapu where the intercensal growth amounted to 54%; the smallest increases in overall density occurred in the Ha'apai group, already the most heavily populated islands in Tonga, where the density rose from 480 persons per square mile in 1956 to 523 in 1966. In 1966 the most densely populated of the Ha'apai islands was Matuku where 138 people in 29 "single family units" in 19 households were living on 82 acres (1,062 per square mile).

* * *

The 1966 Report gives warning that overcrowding and shortage of housing are becoming acute throughout Tonga (p. 35) but the figures themselves suggest that this rise is a corollary of population movement to Tongatapu. The figures do suggest that the overall average size of Tongan households has risen from 6.53 persons to 6.7 persons in the intercensal period.[5] But average household size in each of Tonga's three main towns has fallen; Nuku'alofa from 8.04 to 7.96; Pangai, Ha'apai from 8.39 to 7.55; Neiafu, Vava'u from 7.6 to 7.42. On the other hand, in 1956 there were six towns and villages with an average of more than eight, and only one with over nine persons per dwelling whereas in 1966 there were nine villages with eight, and four with an average of over nine persons per dwelling. Most of these were in rural areas of Tongatapu which suggests that rising pressure on housing was more acute in rural Tongatapu than in Tonga overall.

Tongan households are defined in the census first as consumption units, later as sleeping units. Within an *api* 'compound' a sleeping unit and a consumption unit rarely correspond. Family units are defined as spouse(s) and child(ren). Of the 10,942 Tongan households recorded for the entire Kingdom in 1966, 16% or 1,729 contained more than one family unit; 1,454 or 13.2% contained two family units; 244 or 2.2% had three family units; 31 or 0.28% had four or more. Tongatapu Island with 61.8% of the

4. Thirty-three out of c. 150 islands are inhabited; the total habited land area in 1966 was less than 15 miles square. Niuafo'ou (13.5 sq. mls.) and Tofua (18.05 sq. mls.), both partially resettled since 1956, have not been included in the assessment of population density, nor have the unhabited islands of Late, Kao, Hunga Ha'apai, Hunga Tonga, 'Ata and Fonualei, all high and fertile but without harbours or anchorages.
5. Comparable figures of mean household size in other island groups are. Cook Island 1966, 6.5; Western Samoa 1961, 5.7; Fakaofo, Tokelau Islands 1968, 10.4 (Personal Communication, Antony Hooper); Niuafo'ou, northernmost island of Tonga 1967, 6.5.

49: Rogers A-4,5 (no date) 1969 OU9 Tonga OU9



Kingdom's total population, had 58.9% of the total households with two family units and 63.2% of the households with three or more family units.

The Report does not distinguish whether households with several families have come about as a result of grandparents, son and wife, and grandchildren living in the same household, or as a result of brothers and their wives sharing one household. It is also unclear how the local census officers demarcated dwelling units clustered together and cooperating as the one single household. In many parts of Tonga there is a precedent in custom for three or even four generations of the same kin-group to live within the same *'api*, the family unit of the oldest son occupying the main dwelling with other units (parents and unmarried siblings; families of married siblings) having separate dwellings around. Because of the traditional brother-sister *tapu* there may be an additional hut for unmarried sons. There is less precedent in Tongan custom for two or more family units of the same generation (e.g. siblings, their spouses and children) to live within the one dwelling: this could be a criterion of overcrowding.

It seems from the census figure of 16% ("households" with more than one family unit) that overcrowding is not yet severe in Tonga except in Nuku'alofa. Here families of siblings are sharing dwellings, and huts are being built on swamp land. Elsewhere, the occurrence of households containing more than one family unit may be accounted for as the persistence of the traditional co-resident extended family, comprising several generations where each "extra" family unit may have its own separate dwelling house which may or may not have been recorded in the census schedule as a household. The increase in average household size has been accompanied by a fall in average overall acreage of land per household from 15.08 acres per household in 1956, to 10.98 acres in 1966.

* * *

The population densities already discussed have little meaning except in relation to the availability and utilization of natural, agricultural and human resources. The natural resources of Tonga comprise almost exclusively the soils, reefs and surrounding seas with, in late 1968, an elusive possibility of oil; the agricultural resources comprise almost entirely trees—particularly coconut, banana, breadfruit—and ground crops grown mainly without mechanical aids by slash-and-burn methods. Human resources are discussed at the end of this paper.

Dependence on agricultural produce is enormous; in 1961 and 1964 these products amounted to 98.19% and 96.39% respectively of Tonga's total export earnings with copra (the dried kernel of the coconut) forming the basis of the economy and constituting over 80% of the visible exports throughout the 1960s.[6] Agricultural products are the surpluses and small cash-crops of Tonga's 12,000 or so peasant farmers who are scattered throughout the Kingdom and rent their allotments either from titled nobles or directly from the Government.

6. TONGA, 1960–1967 *passim*. Total exports for 1961 amounted to £T1,374,658; agricultural exports £T1,349,461; non-agricultural exports £T25,197.

49: Rogers A-4,5 (no date) 1969 OU9 Tonga OU9



hard-board, cabinet-making, ship's gear and housing), as well as developments in private industries such as cigarette and tobacco processing, handicrafts, tailoring, boat-building, bread-making, and in government service industries, communications, electricity and water supplies and mechanical engineering. Until 1956, Tonga maintained a favourable overseas trade balance without incurring a national debt. Since 1965, moneys have been borrowed from Britain for development plans. But these developments are not sufficient to employ the increasing numbers of young men migrating to Nuku'alofa seeking work. For example, in 1956, 2.41% of the Tongan male population over fifteen years was engaged in "part-manufacturing and processing"; by 1966 this percentage had rised to 2.78% of the adult Tongan males, an increase of some 192 persons, but Tongan females employed in this category decreased over the same period by some 77 persons, that is, in the decade following 1956 the total number of Tongans employed in "part-manufacturing and processing" industries rose by only 115 to 597 persons. The "services" branch of the economy absorbed an increase of 568 Tongans, "transport and communications" 65, whereas Tongans employed in "commerce" dropped from 786 to 353, a loss of 214 workers. The number of non-agricultural labourers rose during this period from 192 to 786—a gain of 594 workers. Comparable figures for non-Tongan residents in Tonga in 1956 and 1966, show decreases in the number of persons employed in "part-manufacturing and processing" industries (a decrease of 83 persons), "services" (down 63 persons), "transport and communications" (down 24 persons) and "commerce" (down 103 persons). These figures conform with the Tonga Government policy of gradually replacing non-Tongan workers with Tongans.

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Rapid increases in the Tongan component of the population are occurring: about 38% in ten years; this is producing a very youthful population in which over half of the population is under sixteen years of age. Population expansion is due not to a rising birth rate (which is fairly constant at 3.24%) but to a rapidly decreasing death rate (in 1966 the death rate reached an all time low of 0.29%).

Pressures on land are beginning to be felt but are not yet acute because it is comparatively easy for any Tongan to obtain access to land for subsistence purposes. Pressure on the '*api* system as it now stands is very great with possibly well over half of the men eligible for land without land or at least without security of tenure. Possibilities for intensification of land use have scarcely been sought; diversification of crops and scientific methods are, with the exception of the Coconut Replanting Scheme, as yet confined to research stations; large tracts of land belonging to the nobility remain officially unallotted; several high islands are unsettled; larger allotments could be subdivided with the introduction of intensive methods. Pressure on housing is not yet acute except in Nuku'alofa, but the Tongan administration seems to have adopted a European norm of one "family unit" to one household in spite of the traditional custom of

49: Rogers A-4,5 (no date) 1969 OU9 Tonga OU9



building small dwellings near the main dwelling for siblings of the opposite sex, parents, and married members of the same family.

The need to step up the rate of industrialisation is shown by the beginning of land shortages, the increase of adult "landless" men, the indirect evidence of under-employment throughout the Kingdom, and the movement of increasing numbers of rural dwellers to urban centres, especially to Nuku'alofa.

The most spectacular development in Tonga since 1956 has been the acquisition of a national shipping fleet. Before that date, two motorized sailing ketches were the principal means of inter-island transport; all fuel was imported from Fiji in 44-gallon drums. The progressive, far-sighted administration ordered the first vessel, *Aoniu* (514 tons), in 1956; it was delivered in 1958 and by 1960 it had made a gross earning of £T68,120 with net profits of £T13,970 after providing for depreciation and other running expenses. The Tongan fleet now comprises seven vessels, with the largest, *Niuvakai* (1,800 tons), plying between Sydney Australia, Japan, Fiji, and Tonga. Although great savings are now made each year on freights to and from the Kingdom, the shipping line has, however, done little to relieve the need for more jobs in Tonga. Raw materials could be transported to the Kingdom by these ships to provide employment in selected (possibly labour intensive) industries. If European and Australasian governments do not take the initiative by offering experts for this purpose it is likely that trade and aid may be forthcoming from Asia, especially from Japan.

Tonga has also shown how a state-owned industry can provide a large degree of independence for a small nation. The Tonga Copra Board and allied government agencies started with improving the quality of export copra, and now, with the aid of British finance, have launched a highly successful Coconut Replanting Scheme throughout the land. Government industries have already been discussed. Philatelic and numismatic sales are still being fully exploited by the Minister of Finance.

Nevertheless, economic growth, although spectacular for a country using mainly its own limited resources, is not fast enough to cater for the demand for wage labour. While the population continues to increase at the present rate, the need for the expansion of wage labour, either on the land or in industries, will persist.

Finally, economic expansion and industrialization is not by itself a panacea for the pressures and problems besetting this tiny island Kingdom; techniques will need to be changed, social privileges equalised, and human resources marshalled and developed, especially in the fields of education and vocational training. Education for white collar jobs carries greater prestige, but efficient production of export crops may be more lucrative for the individual.

At present, compulsory primary schooling ends at standard IV, a class reached by many children at the age of ten. Intermediate and secondary schooling is not compulsory, so if primary school pupils do not gain a place in one of the few secondary schools they repeat the last year in the primary school once or even twice. Because of this an enormous percentage

56: Samwell D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9



They bathe themselves about Sunrising either in the small Pools or in the Sea. In the Morning Parties meet together who form a ring & sing to the beat of Drum & drink Kava after which they eat baked yams or breadfruit. They dine about noon generally upon baked yams & breadfruit with Puddings made of Plantains, & sometimes the better sort have Pork but more commonly Fish, drinking water with it which they seem to prefer in general to the Cocoa nut milk, not caring so much for that as the meat of the nut. The Chiefs are served at their meals with much Parade, a single yam being often brought on a pole between two men so that a dinner consisting of a dozen or two of yams, some parcels of baked Fish, Plantains, Cocoa nuts & shells of water & the plantain Leaves for a table Cloth will employ 30 or 40 people. Their method of Cooking differs in nothing material from that of Otaheite which has been amply described in Capt[n] Cook's first Voyage to that Island. About sunset they play upon their Flutes, sing or sit in discourse with their Women before their Houses; after dark they light Torches in their Houses by which they sit and converse or meet together in large Companies of young men & women & dance upon the green plats before their Doors. The young women on these occasions make use of many lascivious Gestures & Motions, & so fond are they of this amusement that not a day passes but many of these dances are performed in all parts of the Country. While these are employed in following their Pleasures others line the shores with Torches in their Canoes as a decoy for the Fish, which they catch in that manner.

Every Chief has his Land inclosed with a hedge of Wicker work about 8 feet high made with Bamboo which has a very neat appearance. To this inclosure there is one entrance only, at a door made of Planks which is kept shut by a long pole resting against it on the inside & it cannot be opened on the outside. Within the generality of these Inclosures stand about half a dozen Houses among the Cocoa nut & Bread fruit Trees & groves of Plantains; the Houses are small & contain but one family in each, the Shape of them is an oblong square, the floors are raised about a foot from the Surface of the ground and always covered with matts, the Eves reach near the Ground & the sides are made of wicker work tho' some again are quite open. The Married people are seperated at night from the rest by Skreens made of Strong thick matts which they draw round them, & these they make use of in the day & move them about occasionally to defend them from the wind & the Sun. The furniture of their Houses consists of the Garee[1] or Stools which they use for Pillows,

[1] *kali.*

66: Walsh K-5 (1963-1964) 1969 OU9 Tonga OU9
Nuku'alofa



## rural characteristics

To the air passenger wheeling over Nuku'alofa on the descent to Fua'amotu airport some ten miles distant, there would be no doubt that the town presents a rural appearance. It would be difficult for him to remember, even if he knew, that below was a town of some 18,000 people with an average population density in excess of the Suva urban area which he had left some three hours earlier. He would see the iron roofed buildings of the administrative and commercial core, but beyond this would recognise no functional specialisation. Many of the houses, small and thatch roofed, would be hidden among the trees. More visible would be the white coral sand of the graveyards, marking the earlier boundaries of the town's component villages. Closer inspection would confirm the observation by Spillius that 98 per cent of the population live in rural conditions.[14] There is no sewerage, reticulated water serves only key government areas and over half the population live in houses made at least in part of indigenous materials, often of traditional design. Towards the margins of the town the number of thatch and composite houses increases, as also does the percentage of migrants squatting on unconfirmed titles to land, and the involvement of agriculture. The town's boundaries, like its position in the rural-urban continuum, taper off slowly and only a broad transition area is distinguishable.

Land in Tonga is occupied on titles that trace their origin to the feudal days of the primitive nobility[15] and to early attempts by the first modern king and his missionary advisors to modify tradition to more closely resemble the system of tenure acceptable in Victorian England.[16] This blending of traditional and introduced, Tongan and Western, permeates almost every facet of Tongan life. It was consciously and deliberately introduced by a far-sighted monarch in an attempt to consolidate his position within a traditional framework and it served its function of perpetuating traditional content within a modified and apparently modern or western form.[17] Thus, all land belongs to the Crown and through it to the nobles and government in the form of hereditary estates or tofi'a. These tofi'a are subsequently divided into 'api kolo or town allotments and 'api tukuhau or country allotments and all male tax payers are legally entitled to a town and country allotment, although this right cannot always be exercised. The occupier has only a life interest though it is usually inherited according to stipulated laws of succession which favour the eldest son and the widow. The town dweller in this respect is in no way different from the country dweller. He is attached to the land and the ownership and direction of this land is of family concern. Its social significance is at least equal to its economic significance. Thus, although some two-thirds of the town's household heads were without registered 'api tukuhau in 1963, only one-fifth had no access

into the town, ruralising it much more than the town urbanises the migrant.

## aspects of urban life

A large number of locally-born men are classified by the census as being involved in agriculture. These men represent nearly one-third of the total male labour force. They are farmers, casual workers and the barely-employed who gain what sustenance they can from the land. They are peasants in the usual sense of the word but they live in a town. The following discussion will therefore deal briefly with certain aspects of their life.

Some twenty-eight per cent of the town's houses are constructed of "composite" materials, that is some part is built of indigenous material such as thatch while other parts are made of exotic material such as corrugated iron. While these houses are found in all parts of the town, there is a marked concentration in the two oldest settled areas, Kolomotu'a and, to a lesser extent, Ma'ufanga (see Table V).

Table V

Housing Materials and Birthplace, Land and Employment of Household Heads

| Area | House Type Exotic % | Indigenous % | Composite % | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Kolomotu'a | 35 | 33 | 32 | 100 |
| Kolofo'ou | 52 | 24 | 24 | 100 |
| Ma'ufanga | 44 | 25 | 31 | 100 |
| Nuku'alofa | 45 | 27 | 28 | 100 |
| Percentage of each House Type with Household Head born outside Tongatapu | 33 | 44 | 30 | |
| Percentage of each House Type with Household Head with Registered 'Api Tukuhau | 53 | 38 | 43 | |
| Percentage of each House Type with Household Head employed in "Agriculture" | 20 | 53 | 43 | |

Note: sample size 107 households.

362 Since these are also the best endowed areas for 'api tukuhau, the recent migrant is likely to build in indigenous material while those in paid employment can afford and are likely to build a house entirely of imported materials. Table V demonstrates that 43 per cent of those household heads living in houses constructed of composite materials and 53 per cent of those living in houses constructed of indigenous materials were employed in agriculture. Furthermore, of those living in composite housing only 30 per cent had been born outside Tongatapu.

[369] The overall design, internal and external arrangements of these houses differ little from those of the countryside and this again demonstrates the persistence of traditional modes of life within the town. Many houses adhere to the traditional apsidal or oval floor plan but even those with non-traditional rectangular floor plans are arranged to meet the flexible demands of sleep and entertainment. [593] Adolescent boys have a separate sleeping hut in keeping with the [343] traditional practice of brother-sister avoidance. Living, eating, cooking and washing activities take place in separate buildings in [171] keeping with practices traditional to much of Polynesia.

511 Tongans living in houses of composite materials have more
184 copra driers on their 'api kolo, clear evidence of their active involvement in agriculture. They own more horses and carts, buy less [264] imported food than those living in large wooden houses. They are more likely to follow the rural practice of eating two and not three meals a day (see Table VI). Their women folk are more involved in the making of tapa in the kautaha koko'anga, in making other Tongan handicrafts, and are active in attendance at the fale hiva or choir house of the local church.

443 A town's bazaar sector, labour intensive and family directed,
[369] is considered by some students of Asian cities to bear at least close resemblance to and have close links with the rural peasantry and therefore deserves some brief mention here. The bazaar sector in [433] Nuku'alofa is not well developed. This is because the Tongan economy itself is underdeveloped, consequently offering fewer opportunities. The main activities in the bazaar sector are small-scale trading from single room shops which sell at prices slightly in excess of the European firms from where they have purchased their goods; the hawking of handicraft goods mainly to tourists; and the sale of primary produce such as ground foods, kava, Tongan oil and shellfish.
443 In some cases the people involved are middlemen acting for villagers,
441 and one group, the fakafefine, have some form of loose cooperation which cuts across kin affiliations. The fakafefine (the word means "like a woman") work in teams, each team jealously guarding its round of customers. Some have groups of women manufacturing the articles they sell and most have trading arrangements beyond Nuku'alofa and

/41 cont./

346 The construction of some schools and especially of many dwellings
342 built in the European "shanty style" also leave much to be desired
362 from a health standpoint (for example, uninsulated corrugated iron roofs), there having been as yet no effective remedy.

757 The Tongans are largely indifferent to the health service. In most cases of illness they first try self-healing with ancient Tongan herb medicines and massage, sometimes with a small admixture of magic, and if this does not help and the case seems very serious, they go to the doctor. At the same time, there are a few /42/ natives who run to the doctor with a headache or a slight stomach upset, as well as a few who do without any kind of medical help. (92)

92. On Nomuka the author saw a woman who, after eating a poisoned shark liver, was very ill and, despite grave danger, did not wish to see the assistant doctor who lived only 300 meters away.

[743] In places where an auxiliary hospital or "dispensary" /cited in English/ is situated close by, the Tongans are beginning to come in with minor cases (coughs, constipation, diarrhea, cuts, boils). The Tongan
757 177 physicians regard the present situation as being a considerable improvement over the condition 40 years ago. A certain change has surely taken place in the last decades. Thus the old Tongan healing
[656] art (93)

93. Various elements of the Tongan healing art were borrowed from the natives of the Fiji Islands (for example, Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 242.)

which was not always fortunate, (94)

94. A series of spontaneous attempts at healing often took the place of a diagnosis.

was forbidden by a governmental law and was also virtually repressed
278 178 by the growing European-type health service. However, some of the

/92 cont./

553 551 rendered: "the coconut whose offshoot comes out of the sea, to take root on the shore [whither it was driven]").

## B. Village Life

### a) Settlement and Community

361 162 The Tongans today live in villages. These differ in size. In general, they have several hundred inhabitants. In the smallest settlements on a few islands there are approximately 50 to 80 natives living. 632 [162] Nuku'alofa (Tongatapu) with approximately 4500 inhabitants, Neiafu (Vava'u) with approximately 2200, Mu'a (Tongatapu) with approximately 1400, and Pangai-Hihifo (Lifuka) with approximately 1000. In these [464] larger towns many Tonga already work in trade, industry and government [366] service; here there are rather large department stores and cars; [493] Nuku'alofa and Neiafu have paved streets, also cinemas, and, in the [363] former telephones and electric light have been installed. But here too, [368] in the larger settlements, the majority of Tongans have plantations and [365] work them more or less regularly--to some extent along with other [423] occupations.

621 162 /93/ The following figures were obtained in average Tongan villages

592 362

| | Number of inhabitants | Households (cook hut & meals in common) | Living- (sleeping houses) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Nomuka..... | 567 | 85 | 125 |
| 'Uiha ('Uiha)..... | 647 | 100 | 143 |
| Felemea ('Uiha)..... | 372 | 48 | 72 |
| Fungamisi (Vava'u)..... | 263 | 45 | 55 |

368 In an average Tongan village there are usually three or four churches of various denominations. (264)

264. Even on the island of 'O'ua (Ha'apai group)

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9



166 rather than move directly into the capital. Movement from these areas into Nuku'alofa primarily involves young age groups, such as school girls attending Queen Salote College.

Two factors stimulate movement from the outer islands. Centrifugal forces push people out of Ha'apai and Vava'u, while centripetal forces pull these people to Tongatapu. The most notable examples of these forces are greater opportunities for social mobility through education, improved transportation facilities between the islands, recent hurricanes in Ha'apai and Vava'u, an outbreak of black leaf streak in Vava'u, and the urban attractions of Nuku'alofa. Each of these forces can be related to economics. Simply, the average Tongan is seeking to improve his economic status to moving himself, if not his entire family, to Tongatapu.

166 362 [591] These movements to Tongatapu are complicating the already serious problem of land and housing shortages on that island. As a result, migrants often live with relatives, or within the crowded substandard dwellings near Nuku'alofa. Examples are especially prevalent along the major roads between Nuku'alofa and Pea.

166 [591] Interviews with individuals residing under these conditions revealed two important facts. If employment is secured and a permanent home established, the individual can expect additional family members and relatives to also migrate and move in with him, resulting in a cyclical process. [241] In addition, it was found that as families leave Ha'apai and Vava'u, farmlands are not properly maintained, due to the absence of male family members, who are usually the first to migrate. [162] Therefore, the the Kingdom is experiencing a severe